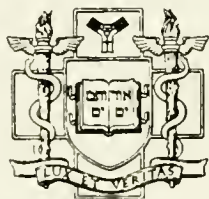


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Harvey Cushing / John Hay Whitney
Medical Library

HISTORICAL LIBRARY



Yale University

THE MAKING OF A LIBRARY



John F. Fulton, September 1959

THE MAKING OF A LIBRARY

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS 1934-1941

OF

HARVEY CUSHING

ARNOLD C. KLEBS

JOHN F. FULTON

PRESENTED TO JOHN FULTON BY HIS FRIENDS

ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

1 NOVEMBER 1959

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

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Preface

Farmington, Connecticut

November 1st, 1959

DEAR MISS STANTON: *It isn't credible that anyone who has accomplished all that John Fulton has accomplished should be only just sixty, but it must be so since that is what you say. Sixty is a horrible birthday, and anything that one's friends can do to make it bearable should be done.*

I think you have chosen the best possible palliative. The forming of the Historical Library—didn't we call it 'The Institute' at first?—was a saga that cannot be fully understood and enjoyed until the letters exchanged by its three principals have been read. 'Nothing,' Walpole said, 'gives so just an idea of an age as genuine letters; nay, history waits for its last seal from them.' Could this passage have been in Dr. Cushing's mind when he wrote the first letter that you have given us?

You have sent me to the index in Miss Thomson's life of Dr. Cushing and the two gratifying references she included to myself. The first mentions a letter that I wrote to Dr. Cushing that amused him and that he sent to Dr. Fulton then at Oxford. This was in 1930. I don't seem to have a copy of my letter, but I have a letter from Dr. Cushing introducing me to Dr. Fulton. 'If you are going to Oxford to set up your staff at Bodley's you must certainly go and see my friends the Fultons, who will simply delight you. John is a bibliophile after your own heart and carries the mantle of William Osler in Oxford so far as anyone could carry it. So please go and see them promptly and simply leave this card at the door.' My wife and I didn't go to Oxford that summer, but I carried the card around with me

for years—long after I had met the Fultons. I can't find it now—could I finally have delivered it?—but I remember that on it was something about Dr. Fulton and me being fellow-sufferers from bibliomania and so destined to be friends.

When the Fultons—fortunately for Yale—moved to New Haven, the long-deferred meeting took place and the friendship which Dr. Cushing foresaw began immediately. The early thirties were exciting years for bibliophily and bibliography at Yale. The Sterling Library was opened, C. B. Tinker became Keeper of Rare Books, the Yale Library Associates were formed. Dr. Cushing and Dr. Fulton became trustees of the Associates at once, and it was natural that I should begin hearing from them about the 'Institute,' and how they would pool their great libraries with Dr. Klebs's and give them to Yale if the University would build a wing to the Medical School to house them, a reasonable stipulation.

I had a special course of inoculation in The Institute during the summer of 1938 in London. This tended to complete the out-patient treatments I had already had at 691 Whitney Avenue and at 'Mill Rock.' Dr. Cushing was getting a degree from Oxford. Dr. Klebs came from Switzerland for the occasion. It so happened that my wife and I had rooms only two doors away from Dr. Cushing's at Brown's Hotel. We were separated by Haile Selassie, but his guards, gentle whelps of the Lion of Judah, permitted us to pass freely from one room to the other, and my inoculation proceeded without interruption. Since I had recently become a member of the Yale Corporation, it was well to have me immune to any attack of opposition.

Miss Thomson's second reference to me is even more gratifying, even though I am bound to water it down. She quotes a

letter of Dr. Cushing's to Dr. Klebs in which he gives me credit for pushing 'the library program through the Corporation.' This hardly does justice to the preliminary pushing of Dean Bayne-Jones outside the Corporation and the hearty support of President Seymour and Provost Furniss within it. Nor does it take into account the compelling force of John F. Fulton's convictions and energy. What an honor it is to have played any part at all in this history!

Dr. Fulton alone survives of the three friends who brought the Historical Library to Yale. The present moment is one of congratulation and thankfulness: thankfulness for his restored health, and congratulation on his being only sixty, with years more of discovery and instruction before him.

Yours sincerely,

WILMARTH S. LEWIS

The 'Trinitarians' *and Some Associates*

HARVEY CUSHING (1869–1939), B.A. Yale 1891, M.D. Harvard 1895. Johns Hopkins Medical School 1896–1912, Harvard Medical School and Peter Bent Brigham Hospital 1913–1931, Yale School of Medicine 1933–1939.

ARNOLD C. KLEBS (1870–1943), M.D. Basel 1895. Practising physician, Citronelle, Alabama, and Chicago, Illinois 1896–1909, bibliographer and incunabulist 1909–1943.

JOHN F. FULTON, A.B. Harvard 1921, D.Phil. Oxford 1925, M.D. Harvard 1927. Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford 1928–, Yale School of Medicine 1930–.

James Rowland Angell, President of Yale, 1921–1937.

Grosvenor Atterbury, B.A. Yale 1891, architect.

Stanhope Bayne-Jones, Dean of Yale School of Medicine, 1935–1940.

Ernest Caulfield, Hartford pediatrician, author of paper on “Throat distemper 1735–1740.”

Edward H. Cushing (“Pat”), H.C.’s nephew.

George Parmly Day, University Treasurer, 1910–1942.

Thomas W. Farnam, Associate Treasurer and Comptroller, 1922–1942.

George L. Hendrickson, Professor Emeritus of Latin and Greek Literature, 1933–.

Andrew Keogh, University Librarian, 1916–1938.

Bernhard Knollenberg, University Librarian, 1938–1944.

Wilmarth S. Lewis, member of the Yale Corporation, 1938–.

Richard U. Light, surgeon-aviator, former Peter Bent Brigham Hospital house officer.

Clarence W. Mendell, Professor of Latin Language and Literature, 1923-1952.

Charles Seymour, President of Yale, 1937-1949.

George Milton Smith, B.A. Yale 1901, M.D. Columbia 1905, Research Associate in Anatomy.

George Stewart, B.A. Yale 1915, LL.B. 1917, Ph.D. 1921, Hon. D.D. 1939, A.C.K.'s son-in-law.

Edward Clark Streeter, B.A. Yale 1898, M.D. Northwestern 1901, Visiting Professor of the History of Medicine Yale, 1929-1933.

Henry R. Viets, M.D. Harvard 1916, Boston neurologist and fellow bibliophile.

Milton C. Winternitz ("Winter"), Dean of Yale School of Medicine, 1920-1935.

Lorande L. Woodruff, Professor of Protozoology, 1922-1947.

Frontispiece by Dr. José M. R. Delgado. Photograph of A.C.K. and H.C. by Dr. Richard Upjohn Light.

Cushing to Klebs

[New Haven, Connecticut]

Oct 4th [1934]

Dear Arnold: As I may have intimated to you in times past I have always intended to have a check list of my books made and then to have them sold by my Executors so that others might have the pleasure of collecting them as I have done.

This idea has begun to wane in favor of leaving them to Yale to be kept together (Keogh tells me this is quite possible) as the basis of a medico-historical collection.

I have talked the matter over with John and though I did not press the matter, I gather that he would like to leave his books also when the time comes, making a Fulton-Cushing collection.

I woke up in the middle of the night with the thought—why not a Klebs-Fulton-Cushing collection so that we three could go down to bibliophilic posterity hand in hand. Just imagine some young fellow long hence stumbling on our diaries and papers and correspondence about books. I envy him to think what fun he would have, for I think in a certain way our three collections have a more personal and intimate provenance than has W.O.'s [Sir Wm. Osler] library.

All this has come up to me for I am redrawing my will and I plan to leave enough to start a professorship of the history of medicine. It's just possible the University might sweeten my Sterling Professorship to that purpose and then the income of my bequest could be used for book purchases.

I don't know what your own plans may be if you have any. I know that you once thought of establishing at Les Terrasses a foundation for medico-historical studies. This you may still intend to do but if not and if this other idea has any interest for you do let me know.

Anyhow let us play with the idea and see what comes of it. Meanwhile John and I will not duplicate our purchases but will try and point toward a common goal.

I am of course aware of John's comparative youth—of the fact that he might be called away from here as to Oxford—also that he might change his mind—indeed that he made no agreement. Still I like to think that the plan might quietly be worked out between ourselves. Yours always, H.C.

Klebs to Cushing

Les Terrasses, Nyon en Suisse

14 October 1934

Dear Harvey: What an amazing person you are. Returning from Montreal, hardly saying anything about it while John enthuses about it and especially your brilliant address, you sat down by your copy of Galen's ed. pr. 1490 and wrote me a most painstaking analysis of that book. It has kept me busy two days and one night. I think you are the first who has done it and I shall label it so in my description. More about this later. . . .

Now comes your holograph about the destiny of your and John's and my books. Not long ago you have made me see that it was not so bad an idea to turn one's books back

into the commercial stream that brought them to you. Why shouldn't the other fellows have the fun of collecting again as you had? I have here a few books with interesting provenances of my father's, of Choulant's, of Davidson's, of yours, of Osler's, of John's, etc. They have a peculiar interest because of the marks of their former owners. Some of them I could not have unless they had been turned back into the stream. When once institutionalized they are withdrawn, but perhaps from the alluvial soil they form, more fruitful crops can spring. But then I think of . . . my own books of which with all my omnivorousness I can but digest a very small number. They get additional value when a John blows in and spends a week over some items that I hardly have looked at. Would he like to do it as much if I were not there? Your books at Whitney avenue last winter had a different sense with you at the hospital accessible for their discussion and the hope that we could go over them together when you were up again. The fun of mere acquisition may be great, and indeed it is a necessary phase, but the working with the books, the discussion about them, and the comparison is, after all, what really is most worth while, don't you think so? When I saw what work I had put you to with this Galen and which I had not fully foreseen, I thought I ought to have got the information in some other way, from the copy in Leipzig for instance, dug out by one of Sudhoff's students. But after all I concluded I had done right, for it forced you to what, after all, was not without fun. And probably you with your habit of exact observation saw some things that another would not have seen.

So I have come to the conclusion that it does really not

matter much what becomes of our books—whether we sell them or keep, if we can, the particular, the peculiar spirit of curiosity and search that somehow is exuded from collections such as we three have brought together. You, you have choice bits, monuments of the literary efforts in the art of healing, John tends toward the details of heroic lives, while I am forever puzzling over the thought-mechanisms of scientific minds outside of the limits of time and space. When John reaches our ripe age we will already have sunk into the depth of oblivion or, as surely in your case, have become historical reminiscences. John may yet go to Oxford, or Leningrad, or Kamchatka with Dick Light as *officier de liaison*, but he will never go very far from books. The physiology of books interests him really more than that narrower physiology of living structures. Sometimes I have the feeling that he ought to put all his might these coming five or ten years into the experimental side of his ambitions. I feel that if he left Yale he would drop that at once. I have the idea that a man will think better in his later life the longer he has kept his hands busy before. The sedentary mode to which books lead may strangle the freedom of thought and make for subtleties, refinements, and pedantries. The “swell bibliophile” on the whole is a pretty sterile individual, and bibliography after all ought to be only a means to an end, broad embracing thought and all-understanding humanity. But then

“Grau ist alle Theorie
Und grün der goldne Baum des Lebens.”

You want mainly to play with that idea of an endowed

institution of medical booklore (medical history sounds so much more formal and pretentious). I am with you in that game. But an important thing is to reflect who will run it after us. John is the youngest and hence has on that subject probably the most valid ideas. I know I must sometime do something about my books. . . . But meanwhile we may, as you say, play with this holy trinity idea. At any rate I hardly think I would duplicate in my purchases any of yours or John's. I buy rare books only when I get them really cheaply and neither you nor John invest in those bibliographic and philosophic reference books which I purchase.

My *confessio fidei*: I don't think it pays to study the old books in detail, philologically, text-critically, one only squabbles with words and gets nowhere. I don't believe in looking for predecessors, precursors, and anticipators, believing "*que plus cela change plus c'est la même chose.*" I believe in loving the old authors when they have something loveable, but I don't believe in their apotheosis merely because they have a reputation, for if you scratch really deeply, you always find the primitive swine. To love books merely because they are old or rare or expensive seems to me primitive sentimentality, if it is not greed or speculative impulse that prompts it. On the other hand I want to ponder the very existence of any book, why was it writ, why was it thought, why was it print, why was it sold, why was it bought? It's only the metaphysician that asks "why" and he stands in bad odor with physicians, but then is it not better to have some odor than none? I confess frankly to my why-questioning proclivity, although I do not altogether avoid the "how?" To look at a book with

exactly the same feelings, anticipations, avowed or suppressed emotions with which its first acquirer approaches it, that is one of my main ambitions. It is so hard to detach oneself entirely from the preconceptions of one's own time, and still herein resides, I think, one of the greatest potentialities of booklore. Thought remains curiously primitive and uniform, I think, with regard to the enormous multiplicity of forms which the versatile hand creates. Here lies a secret which the acquaintance with thought in all ages and in different surroundings will perhaps help to reveal. If we do it the right way we can see through the idols of the market place. But what I think another may not think, and perhaps it is all wrong and footless. None the less I go on because it's such fun, and because it gives me something to talk to you about and to John and some others. If it were not for that stimulus from you and from others, I might not do it and play bridge. There was Osler, there was Popsy [William H. Welch], there is you—what would be the books without them? There is the “felt” reality of inspiring personality, and that has to enter into our plannings, for without it the best collection is but a cemetery. I am heart and soul with your plan if you can insure to it, as well as is in one's power, the continuity of personal interest and influence. If you can give ten more years to it, perhaps with a little help from me and a great deal from John, something lasting might be started. At any rate we will continue to play with your idea.

I am afraid I talked too much. Affly yrs, A.C.K.

Fulton to Klebs

New Haven, Connecticut

October 23, 1934

Dear A.C.K.: . . . I am really interested and very enthusiastic about the trinitarian proposal. I shall write you more in detail sometime when I have thought it out a little more clearly. Irrespective of where one may be, the suggestion has a strong personal appeal because I believe in no other community would such an undertaking be appreciated. . . . Yours ever affectionately, John

Fulton to Cusbing

Mill Rock, Deepwood Drive

Hamden, Connecticut

December 25th 1934

My dear Chief: How nice of you, and how characteristic, to have sent me all the intriguing annotations for my Fortsas Catalogue! I am frantic out here without reference books, and I was especially anxious to have just these details. The whole thing is an extraordinary story.

Your call on Sunday left my head buzzing with pleasant ideas. I enjoyed Klebs' letters enormously, and Lucia dropped them at your house yesterday. I am delighted that you are succumbing to the Ellenbog books—they will be the *pièce de résistance* of the 15th century collection. I have not touched 15th century or Arabic things, but I am concentrating rather heavily on all forms of bio-bibliographical source material, and on scholarly texts such as the

Kühn Galen. I have also just obtained Callisen in 28 vols. which is so often quoted by Hirsch. A.C.K.'s Mlle. Droz is the most competent person (♂ or ♀) in the French medical book-trade, is absolutely reliable (in books), can find anything and is quite pretty. She obtained my Callisen—A.C.K. often urged me to patronize her; he always seems to have “diencephalic” trouble whenever one mentions her, however.

But what I started to say was that I grow daily more enthusiastic about the trinitarian scheme. I have moments of wishing it could be placed nearer the center of medical activity, but this is unessential if we can get a really attractive place in the central library. With a little planning it can be made the foremost collection of its type anywhere.

I hope you have had a nice day—mine has been quiet but very happy. Yours ever affly, John

Fulton to Cushing

Mill Rock, Deepwood Drive

January 25th 1935

My dear Chief: That was a charming paper on Culpepper—one of the nicest that I have ever heard you read, and the boys [Nathan Smith Club] were enchanted. You could see it on their faces. I ran away just at the end, much as I would like to have stayed. It does my heart good to see you thus surrounded by students and your books.

I haven't quite recovered from the touching expression of confidence which you made last Sunday in referring to your Library and your desires concerning its ultimate fate.

You can count on me to help carry out all your wishes at that time—may it be ever remote—and I shall do it with loving care. Affectionately, John

Cushing to Klebs

691 Whitney Avenue [New Haven]

Wednesday [March 20, 1935]

Dear Arnold: John has just been in to tea and I wish you might have been here for we got round to the subject of our tripartite library suggestion of which I wrote you some long time ago.

John of course has a much more valuable and better chosen collection of books than mine (not to speak of yours) and I was a little diffident about making the proposal to him that should I leave mine to Yale under the condition that they are kept together in the nucleus for a medico-historical collection he might be inclined to do the same with his.

This afternoon I was much touched to find that he really wishes to do so and that makes me think—and hope—that you may come in with us. I of course recall your original plan to leave your villa and library as a summer home for historical scholars and you may still plan to carry this out.

On the other hand should you incline to join us, it would greatly strengthen our hand with the University in getting an acceptable project worked out. I understand that there is a project on foot to get the Sterling Trustees to build a student dormitory and medical library in one building.

Something might be done in connection with this project. Imagine John some day, gray-haired and with a front elevation resembling yours, holding a seminar in the midst of our books and chuckling over annotations he is likely to find in them!! I cannot imagine a collection anywhere that would have such a rich provenance.

The prospect that this might come about of course will modify more or less what he and I may be buying in the future. It seems to me, now that I have made a small start, that the best thing I can do from now on is to restrict my expenditure to incunabula. For if your reference apparatus and completed bibliography are to be there, we ought to have as many carefully selected examples to go with them as the traffic will permit. Anyhow this idea will ease my conscience about sending you sales lists asking your advice in regard to purchases. It will also ease yours in telling me what you think I ought to get.

I'm hoping some day to land the other part of that Aris-toteles-Averroes to go with my *Physica* of 1495. Always affy, H.C.

March 20. It begins to feel like Spring today, and robins are about.

Fulton to Klebs

March 21, 1935

My dear ACK: . . . I have just had a very happy hour with H.C. at his house discussing Trinitarian plans in somewhat greater detail than on any previous occasion. I think you will be hearing from him on the subject probably by the same post. I am very enthusiastic over the

plan he has formed, although I shudder a little to think of the responsibility which it places upon my shoulders. I shall assume it joyously but I question my capacity to do it effectively. He has in mind, among other things, a short-title catalogue of all his books, which, of course, should have been made long ago and I hope he will lose no time in starting it; but he alone knows how his books are arranged and to catalogue books there must be some system introduced to make it possible for someone else to find them. It would perhaps be best for you not to mention these details when you write him unless he thinks them up himself.

You enquire why I see so little of H.C. I wonder what made you ask this. I see him three or four times a week, often not for long, but sufficiently often to know what is going on. I would like to spend much more time with him but I hate to take him away from the things he is trying so hard to finish. . . . I would like to see much more of H.C.'s books and to keep up more actively with all the annotations you are sending him concerning the Ellenbog things. I guess you realize he is buying incunabula with no other thought than to make them available to you so that through your precious annotations literature of medical incunabula will be enriched. . . .

Klebs to Cushing

1 April 1935

Dear Harvey: Here are your two yellow sheets of March 20 and 21. You had sat with John over a cup of tea and you had come, as say the diplomats these days in Moscow and

Paris, to a perfect agreement on all points discussed. Then after John had left, you began dreaming of a distant future. John, grey-haired, curving over some of our old books, talking about them with some youngsters, and reading to them some of our annotations, recalling to them very old memories connected with these same books. There we stood again in the Pusteria Valley having come from Cortina d'Ampezzo, [Vittorio] Putti *magnifico* with Ercole Lelli's engraved *écorchés* in the big roll which he handed to you before descending into the valley below enroute for Bologna. You, John, "Sir" Henry [Viets], and I—we were leaving him for the North over the Brenner, that route old Ellenbog, former owner of some of your books, had taken with Archduke Sigismund after their encounter with the later Emperor Maximilian and his Portuguese physician. How Viets chuckled to recall how Sigismund's fierce antagonist the Bishop of Brixen, was quarrelling down there with the nun-ladies up the other valley. No lesser scientific light than old Nicolaus of Cusa was that bishop. And as we had passed Toblach we were all looking over to the East toward Innichen where another Nicolaus Pol, archiater of Maximilian and of Charles, had left some of his books with the Collegiate Church, from where by devious routes some of them came to Pat [Cushing] in Cleveland and also to your shelves in New Haven. John in your dream was making a grand story and the boys were making already their private plans to go and see those places, where books and collectors had crossed each other and the lofty mountain passes.

Dreams do come true sometimes. Mine of a retreat over here at Les Terrasses for wandering American scholars in

search of rest and illumination in new surroundings I scarcely ever thought possible of materialisation. It would need an endowment which I could hardly provide and also merely duplicate what is not so rare here as it is in America, a center of study with an atmosphere. Hence to go into your scheme of combining your and John's and my own collection makes the greater appeal. If the Sterling Trustees will really build a medical students' dormitory to which would be annexed a medical library, that might make a marvellous home for what we three have accumulated in literary treasures during a good part of our lives. As you say, none of us realize perfectly what we really have for not only have we added by purchases but daily we added notes and scraps of relevant pictorial and other accessories. We have surely more than mere bricks for the construction of new medical histories. Interesting as it always is to know better and better "wie es wirklich gewesen ist," where and when others have been at our job and how they have done it, an adequate supply of the sources for such studies becomes a medium of powerful personal inspiration when it bears the marks of former owners and traces of their eager use of them. To me of course it is always stimulating to handle the books my father grew up with and those which helped to shape the course of his investigations. And I must be forgiven for feeling a thrill when I look at the inside of a copy of Göll's the "Sages of Antiquity" with the hardly formed inscription: "Geschenkt von Herrn Director Chevalier meiner Bibliothek. A. Klebs." I was 9 years old, just entering the K.K. Gymnasium of Prague of which the donor was my chief. Already the pride in my library speaks out of the clumsy sentence, and figure 11

scratched out and 7 substituted shows that I had already begun to number my treasures, though by and by I gave up that practice. Then there is an old *Razi* 1497 "Ex libris Ludovici Choulant, Dresdae 1830." He was 39 then and years before he gave us his *Bücherkunde* and all those most useful reference books on medical bibliography. And he had gotten the book from old Davidson, eager and methodical collector who neatly wrote his name in and "Med.antiqu.673." And then my Edm. Bonnet books that one day in 1923 made me rush up to Paris on one hour notice, and which now with all their notes and autograph letters form a treasure-hold which I have scarcely touched.

These are only a few I happen to think of, but as I go through my shelves there is hardly any book, small libelli and huge tomes, that does not contain something of delightful associations or reminiscences of arduous search and comparison. Of course I have nothing to compare with your precious *Vesaliana* or your lovely incunabula with their gorgeous provenances, and reminiscences of battles won or lost in the international book mart, but I have some and of course masses of photographs of unica or very scarce pieces. My *Mesue* 1471 in that fine Florentine Roman and the very rare "Gaerde de Suntheyt" of Lübeck 1492 may even make your mouth water. But then like Popsy I have been out rather for last editions than for the firsts. I simply had to have the latest informative writings on the medicine of the past and to that I have added also Science in general because I feel the evolution of more precise medical thought can be understood only when considered together with scientific thought generally, such as it developed particularly with the introduction of printing, the event of the

most stupendous consequences that has ever happened.

That you, in view of our planned tripartite donation to Yale, should want to concentrate on the purchase of incunabula, is of course most gratifying to me. At any rate it will be wise not to say too much about it as prices are truly high enough as they are. Often I believe you might get an item cheaper if I get it at lowest rate on the plea of my poverty and need in my work. Your reputation is such among these sleuths that they think the more they charge you, the better you like it. . . .

John I think would also want to concentrate probably on early physiologists where neither you nor I would interfere. As I get everything bibliographical on Mediaeval and Renaissance medicine and science, and all the incunabula reference works, other duplications could be avoided, though of course not entirely.

It seems to me you can go right ahead with plans. I for my part can see no plan ahead that offers greater attractions. If John would not only give his books but his energies to something that will keep alive the curious search that has swayed us, the danger that our collections might one day form nothing but piously maintained cemeteries of books would be averted. Otherwise they might as well go back into the market and find interested buyers. The plan as far as building is concerned will need some thought. . . . I would do everything of the simplest, easiest accessible, and serviceable plan strictly excluding luxury. . . . The occupation with old books, with historical facts, even with historical processes, with the philosophy of science and medicine must not create a new specialty (as against all my talking with Popsy it has become in Balti-

more), it must serve for the *re-creation* literally in the shop and laboratory worker of a broader, finer orientation, above the definite life tasks, and helpful in them. If there is somebody with you that wants to endow such a *civitas* or *sodalitas hippocratica*, we are all to be congratulated. . . .

Klebs to Fulton

1 April 1935

My dear John: . . . I am entirely d'accord with the trinitarian plan if proper care and proper housing are provided and not merely a pious cemetery. H.C. described you grey-haired and prominently foreheaded talking to the seminar on old books and chuckling over absurd annotations found here and there in them. I found that dream of the future most attractive and hope that the Sterling Trustees will feel equally interested in it.

As to my own plan over here casually alluded to, I am afraid it is beyond me because it would probably necessitate endowment which I could not provide. Anyway I feel there are troublesome times ahead for Europe, which no doubt will have an echo in U.S.A., but easier outlived there than here. The pessimism which you found in my letter about endowed institutions in U.S.A. is really not such. Because I foresee certain changes in the social structure and with it different regime for institutions does not mean necessarily that it will be for the worse. The Russians whom you are going to visit are not standing still in spite of their differently run institutions. But why worry about details. If a change must come it will come, and we simply have to

fall in with it. I have faith that there is sufficient energy and vision in America not to let everything go to the devil. . . .

Now let's keep our trinitarian plan warm. Of course I could come over if that would help the matter. I suggested to H.C. that in case the plan materialized we all ought to have our catalogues set up in galleys. Mine could be taken right off from my historical cards and yours the same, I expect; H.C.'s I am sure Miss Stanton could gradually bring together. I started her on the incunabula. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

19 April 1935

My dear A.C.K.: . . . It was most heartening to have your enthusiastic endorsement of the trinitarian plan. The matter has already been discussed with George Day, and I dare say that some statement of policy may be forthcoming from the central administration of the University before the summer. I hope so, at all events, but a good deal will depend upon the vision and energy of the new dean. He will naturally wish to feel his way rather cautiously for a year or so, and with our already enormous plant I am a little doubtful whether any proposal, however well supported, for new buildings, will be received with much favor. However, I am optimistic that if it doesn't happen next year, it will in all events happen soon, and I can already see in my mind's eye the fulfillment of a rich and wonderful dream. . . .

Fulton Diary

May 27-June 14, 1935

The Cushing Library: The most stirring development since I have been at Yale has occurred within the last week. Dr. Cushing has several times intimated during the past winter that he proposed to leave his library to Yale. He had talked the matter over with Mr. Keogh and Mr. Day, the treasurer, and with Dr. Bayne-Jones, the new dean. He had indicated that his desire to leave his books to the University would be somewhat more real and tangible if the University, during his lifetime, could make some provision in the form of a room to receive the books. He intimated also that Dr. Klebs might also present his library, and I would certainly want to leave mine wherever Dr. Cushing left his. When he mentioned the subject of an appropriate room for the books, no one seemed to respond. Dr. Cushing, fearing that no action would be taken, broached the subject to Winter [M. C. Winternitz] on Wednesday, June 5th. It caught Winter's imagination instantly and he saw in a flash that a library such as Dr. Cushing's is perhaps the greatest thing that could come to any institution. On Thursday morning, accordingly, he came down to discuss the matter with me, asking for details about Dr. Cushing's library, and he immediately drafted a twelve-page memorandum which he polished up on Friday and presented it Saturday morning to the Yale Corporation who immediately authorized him to employ an architect to draw up plans with a view to raising the necessary funds. The scheme is briefly as follows:

The School at present lacks an adequate amphitheatre,

has critically restricted space for its library and has no dormitories for its students. A large lot adjacent to the School on which the Betsy Ross Tea Room stands is available and it is proposed that a large building be erected covering the entire block, the central feature of which will be a medical library on the ground floor with parking space for a hundred cars in the basement and an air conditioned auditorium for six hundred people and rooms for the State Medical Society, the Beaumont Club, the Nathan Smith Club and an air conditioned library room for old books, which is to be designed by Drs. Cushing and Klebs appropriately for their collection. The back part of the building will be a residential quadrangle with accommodations for the two hundred students in the School and further accommodations for approximately a hundred of the junior staff members. With the drawing card of Dr. Cushing's library, even the pessimistic George Day feels that the money for the building can be secured without difficulty. It is furthermore a sound financial investment as there will be no cost of upkeep in view of the rental return from the residential quadrangle. It is also proposed that when Dr. Cushing sees fit, his Sterling Professorship of Neurology be converted to a Professorship of Medical History with him as the first incumbent. A permanent chair of medical history will then be established in association with the library. Dr. Cushing proposes to endow the library in addition so that there will be funds for its permanent upkeep. Klebs is on the ocean and will arrive on the 13th and we shall be able to take up the details with him before we sail at midnight of the 14th. I have seldom been more excited about anything. . . .

Dr. Cushing's library is a much richer and more unified collection than that of Osler, it being especially rich in the early English and the early incunabula period. Klebs' collection, though less rich in rarities, is in some ways almost as remarkable on account of its wealth of material on fifteenth century books. My own collection is the only extensive overlapping. This Trinitarian Scheme which Dr. Cushing conceived and fostered has made the future of things in New Haven very much more attractive to me personally than it ever was before, and it will probably play a large part in my decision about going back to Oxford.

Fulton to Cushing

S.S. Bremen

June 19, 1935

My dear Chief: By now Klebs will have been with you and I do hope all of the plans have gone forward satisfactorily. I have thought a great deal about the Trinitarian Library during the past few days, and the whole conception stirs me deeply—indeed it almost frightens me sometimes because I could very easily become more interested in it than in my own scientific work! The Oxford proposal has been in the air for nearly a year. Gunn spoke to me of it last August, and letters have been coming off and on during the winter. I would have spoken to you of it earlier, but I fancied that the committee would have views other than those of Gunn, Franklin etc. and that a decision would be unnecessary. However, Franklin's recent letter indi-

cated that I should have to commit myself this summer, and I felt it would be impossible to do so without having your counsel. The plan for the library weighs more heavily with me than any other single circumstance, and I am exceedingly happy that things took such definite shape before I left, for it indicates that the University appreciates the things for which you have always stood—and in such an atmosphere I know that I can always be happy. Moreover, the President, Winter, and the Prudential Committee were generous to a degree about my own work (I have had moments of believing they thought I was shooting at the stars) and this with you and the Library, especially now that Klebs is so enthusiastic, makes England seem quite out of the question.

We are having a nice crossing—Scottie [Oughterson] is excellent company. Lucia sends much love. Affectionately, John

Fulton to Cusbing

Whitehanger, Marley Common,
Haslemere, Surrey.

July 9, 1935

My dear Chief: Your nice letter of the 28th by the *Europa*, has just arrived. I am delighted to have all the exciting news about the Library—especially the copy [of] Mr. Atterbury's letter, which makes one feel that things are really happening. His general plan sounds most attractive—I didn't quite realize, however, that he planned to put the rare book room on the ground floor. This, how-

ever, is a minor detail. I hope we shall be able to insist on air-conditioning.

Things go quietly here. I saw Sir Charles in Oxford on Saturday, and I have never seen him look better. . . .

We find that Sir Humphry Rolleston is our near neighbour. He & Lady R. called yesterday and we had a delightful visit with them.

From the tone of your letter I am not certain whether you are sailing—but I am catapulting this letter in case you do. Much love from us both, John

I am counting on seeing you in London.

Klebs to Mrs. Fulton

6 August 1935

Dearest Lucia: . . . Since our trinitarian scheme has been taken over in a realistic way I am somewhat restless here and homesick for America. But will it come to pass? If it does, it must be hurried up, for H.C. and I have not so much time left. John is the keystone of the whole project and I can hardly wait to hear what will be his attitude when he gets back to New Haven and has talked with the Chief. I have the feeling that we can found something that will have a profound influence on all educational schemes in America and you with your deep interest in all that concerns John can be of the greatest possible help.

I just had to tell you this, although I know you do not want to mix up in J.'s decisions. It is not necessary, the best a wife can do is to believe in her man and give the cheerful tone which sometimes is lacking in the strenuous effort of making one's scientific way. John has grown de-

cidedly of late and I hope he will give still years to his experimental work, before he plunges finally into his most beloved task of book lore. That will be the glorious evening time which alas I shall not be there to share, but we may still have a few sunny afternoons together. . . .

Fulton Diary

August 19–September 8, 1935

The Cushing Library: In *The New Haven Evening Register* for August 7th, 1935, appeared an announcement that the University would start their demolishing of the buildings on the Betsy Ross lot on York and Oak Streets and Davenport Avenue. When we arrived in New Haven August 29th the wrecking company was engaged in removing the various structures and about half of them were down by the first of September. As yet we have no information as to what funds have been secured to build the library, but Mr. Grosvenor Atterbury has drawn most engaging plans of the building which will be entered on Davenport Avenue immediately opposite the entrance to the Institute; it will consist of a large auditorium, a three-story wing in the center for rare books in the history of medicine, and a working medical library extending in another wing toward Oak Street and Davenport Avenue. The revised plans reached Dr. Cushing on September 6th and we spent the afternoon going over them. The rare book wing is to have a seminar room, air conditioning, and ample quarters for a professor of medical history. Mr. Atterbury has visualized the objectives of the Library and of the School in a most satisfactory manner and I feel sure

that with the plans available and the whole scheme worked out in present detail, the University will have no great difficulty in securing the necessary funds. The rapid progress of the Scheme stirs me very deeply and Dr. Cushing's obvious pleasure in it is a great joy to witness.

Cushing to Klebs

14 October 1935

Dear Arnold: . . . We have been all very busy here since school opened, John working like a Trojan giving historical lectures and seminars without end. Friday I heard him ventilate himself delightfully about the history of the discovery of the lymphatics with a marvellous exhibition of books including the Marat-Piereskus copy of Aselli's first edition. I never heard him in better form. We are buying books heavily, and you will see on the verso of the boomerang a new bookcase in my room, mostly with incunabula; and I also have a new case built in my room at home which will be filling up by the time you come again, which I hope will be soon. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

December 2, 1936

My dear ACK: . . . I had a very satisfactory talk with Mr. Keogh this afternoon concerning our Trinitarian Scheme. He is prepared to support either proposal—building a special room on the York Street side of the Sterling Library, or, if funds become available, of erecting a building along the lines indicated in Mr. Atterbury's

plans. I feel certain that something will happen fairly soon, even though Mr. Angell is reluctant to inaugurate new schemes which his successor will have to carry out, but I am going to move heaven and earth to get something under way this winter, and the appearance of your preliminary handlist would do much to help us on our way, so please let's do something about it soon, and if the financial responsibility is more than you can justly meet, H.C. and I will help. Best wishes, Affectionately, John

Fulton Diary

March 1-7, 1937

The library development: For more than a year nothing much has been done about our plans for building a new medical library. However, within the last few weeks plans have been going back and forth from Mr. Grosvenor Atterbury's office and, having somewhat reluctantly decided to abandon the idea of erecting a separate building, we are now concentrating attention upon a very attractive extension of the present Sterling Hall of Medicine in the direction of the power house on the site of the present amphitheatre and dog house. It will be a Y-shaped building, one branch of the Y being for the historical collections and the other for the working library. The plans are very alluring and the new situation has the great advantage of being very central in location, particularly attractive to me as the entrance will be within half a minute's walk of my office. Half the money for the building has already been promised from the Sterling Trustees, and the Treasurer's Office has agreed to coöperate with us actively in getting

the rest. The cost of the extension and equipment will be in the neighbourhood of \$800,000, a third of which will be for endowment, rather than \$2,500,000, which was the sum estimated for the separate building if erected across from the Institute. I am very pleased with the compromise as it seems entirely feasible, and it will make possible a development in the cultural side of medicine which I firmly believe will have national significance.

Fulton to Klebs

April 6, 1937

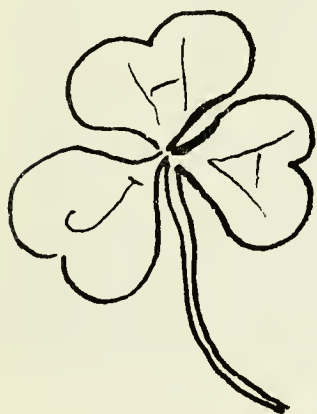
My dear A.C.K.: . . . We had a meeting of the Board of Permanent Officers last night and plans of the library scheme were tentatively approved which means the erection of a Y-shaped structure centrally situated, protected from the street, which can house approximately one hundred thousand volumes in each part of the Y. The library will be air-conditioned, one half of the Y being for the historical collection, the other for a working library. With slight change the total capacity can be made about two hundred and fifty thousand volumes, with ample cubicles for special work, a number of special seminar rooms for the Beaumont Club, Yale Journal, etc., and adequate cataloguing space. I am very enthusiastic about the whole thing. The capacity of the building will be about 700,000 cubic feet, but some of the walls of the existing building can be used, so that we are hoping to be able to erect the structure for between \$500,000 and \$600,000. This is quite a different tune from the two and a half millions which Grosvenor Atterbury talked about for the special

building on the Betsy Ross site. I think the Sterling Trustees will come across with the larger part of this sum, and we are hoping for action in the near future. . . .

Klebs to Cushing

22 April 1937

Dear Harvey: . . . John of late begins to talk again of the trinitarian aspiration and of Grosvenor's new plans, and you also talk of our triumvirate purposes. I have been thinking of late that we ought to call it our trefoil solidarity and use as emblem the clover leaf, or perhaps better the more acid one of oxalis: there is always the somewhat acid flavor in all these more or less posthumous enterprises,



but the green of oxalis is a lovely green and the inversely heart-shaped leaves "obcordate" are quite appropriate and, nicely stamped on some of our beloved volumes, it would make a fine book mark. If I don't forget it I will have a stamp made and submit it, or perhaps Grov would make a fine design. . . .

Cushing to Klebs

14 May 1937

Dear Arnold: . . . I have just had a letter from Casey Wood who says he is sending some books for our trifoliate



Arnold Klebs and Harvey Cushing, 1931



John Fulton, 1935

collection, which is very good of him indeed, and I wonder how he learned about it. He regrets that he hasn't a hundred thousand dollars to help toward the enterprise. I'll remind him of this later on for he may scare up, let us say, half of this amount. The G.A. plans of the library have been passed upon and approved by the Corporation, and now it's up to the Prudential Committee of the University to get the funds. I hope they may land on some Maecenas for us. . . .

Cushing to Klebs

10 June 1937

Dear Arnold: . . . The clipping Harriet [Mrs. A.C.K.] sent you must have been somewhat garbled. I haven't resigned the Sterling Professorship. I was automatically fired, just when I was beginning to be useful, at the age of 68. I was somewhat shocked because I too in my ignorance supposed it was a permanent job, good for a hundred. But not so. Anyhow, as a sop to Aesculapius, they have offered me another post on reduced rations, which entitles me to direct studies in the history of medicine. Before I hear you laugh, I'd better, in the words of Boake Carter, buzz off. Always affy., H.C.

Cushing to Klebs

17 July 1937

Dear Arnold: . . . Incidentally, Ned Streeter got quite enthused and I think will, with a little cajoling, let us have his books on weights and measures in which he has been

specializing these past several years and which were exempted from his books that he sold to Rosenbach that went to the N.Y.A.M. In the evening we went over my Berengarius books to check with Putti's *magnum opus*, and I am glad to say that we have pretty much all of them except his No. 1, Mundinus. I hope now he will get round to Malpighi who promises to be his next subject of dissection. . . .

Klebs to Cushing

12 August 1937

Dear Harvey: . . . You had had an enjoyable afternoon and evening with John, Streeter and George Smith. The last is a new fish for me, and I am so glad he takes an interest in our trifoliate scheme. . . .

Nice of Streeter to want to give his weights and measures. He ought to write them up first though. In the Dioscorides etc. MSS, which I described to you at length and which is getting more and more interesting, there is a preface on weights and measures. I wonder whether he knows its *incipit*:

Omnia tempus habent cum tempore cuncta trahuntur

Qui nescit tempus discat habere rotam.

Oportet sic nosce omnia pondera medicinalia. . . .

Cushing to Klebs

16 August 1937

Dear Arnold: . . . I think I told you about a man here after your own heart named George Smith who goes in for

fish and has an amazing collection of books on ichthyology. Next time you come over I want you to meet him, and we will go down together and see his books, which he keeps at his summer place in Pine Orchard.

He has succeeded in getting in touch with Streeter, who came up here and passed an afternoon with us; and on Friday, Smith, John and I paid a return visit to his so-called farm at Stonington. It is a most fascinating place on the Sound just east of New London, a modernized old farm house with gorgeous trees and magnificent views.

But the important thing was that he showed us his collection of weights and measures and books pertaining thereto, at all of which John and I simply gasped. So far as I know, no one else has taken an interest in collecting these things, and he has been picking them up here and there for the past twenty years, old Greek and Roman and Egyptian and Assyrian weights and pots and scales. No doubt therein lay the beginnings of exact measurement which not only was important for commerce but must hold also in some way the kernel of early science. But you probably know as much and more about this than Streeter himself in view of your researches in the history of science.

There were about eight hundred volumes on his shelves which I think he is perfectly willing to turn over to us. John may write you something of what he made out of them. Mrs. Streeter, I gather from Smith, would be glad to get them out of the house, but even more glad if we could get Streeter back into bibliographical studies which he has practically dropped since he became a quasi-farmer.

. . .

Fulton to Klebs

August 16, 1937

My dear ACK: . . . On Friday H.C., without much warning, organized a trip to Stonington, Connecticut, to see Streeter in the hope of getting his books and his collection of weights and measures for our trinitarian scheme. I think he has succumbed. It is a terribly long trip, as Stonington is twenty miles beyond New London, and I have had dyspepsia ever since. Every time I go on the road, I hate the rambles more. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

October 7, 1937

My dear ACK: The list has come!* It is simply superb and I could not refrain from sending you a cable shouting "Eureka" with Archimedes. It is a wonderful example of an easily handled, clear, brief and business-like bibliography—a skeleton upon which formed flesh will grow and in time develop into an irresistible *corpus bibliographicum*, a living thing which will bring inspiration to all of us. . . . And so now may you fashion the flesh and the body, which after all is the only thing that matters. If you do this you will preserve the thing that we most want—the presentment of your being in tangible form. So you must carve each anatomical detail with the devotion that you have always shown toward anything beautiful.

**Incunabula scientifica et medica: Short title list*. Bruges, 1938. A.C.K. evidently received unbound copies in the autumn of 1937 and sent them to various friends.

Cushing to Klebs

13 May 1939

Dear Arnold: . . . John, full of business as usual, is off for a week with the A.M.A. at St. Louis. We lunched together yesterday with Lefty Lewis . . . who informed us that the Corporation proposes to set aside a sum sufficient to erect without further delay in the pie-shaped lot an air-conditioned building to hold our history of science collections. This will mean some alterations in Atterbury's elaborate plans, but it at least is a start and an indication of their interest. . . . Always affectionately yours, H.C.

Cushing to Klebs

3 June 1939

Dear Arnold: . . . Then another thing that will interest you: All yesterday afternoon we had a pow-wow over the library program—a pow-wow in which you figured largely *in absentia*. The University has finally notified us that they will allocate *ca.* \$600,000 to erect a building to house the medical school library, with one wing for the general medical library and another wing for the historical collections. Our long discussion was over the location, whether on the lot which was cleared for the purpose some five years ago when we first began to talk about it, or in the centre of the present cluster of buildings in the Medical School. Winternitz strongly favoured the previous plan which would have cost something like two million, a sum which is at present not in sight; and John favoured the alternate plan of a Y-shaped building in the present Medical School lot.

So long as John, it seems to me, is the person chiefly concerned, I sided with him, and to settle the dispute we broke in on a conference at the President's office and laid the plans before the Prudential Committee for a decision.

It was learned from them that the sum which they had agreed upon to allocate to us came from the original Sterling Trust Fund and probably could not be legally utilized for anything other than an extension of the existing buildings of the Medical School to which the Sterling Fund had largely contributed in the beginning; in other words, a project to use a part of their fund to erect an entirely new edifice, or even a part of the edifice that Atterbury had planned for the new lot, might not be accepted and we might then have to wait another long indefinite period before anything could be decided.

All this may not be very understandable to you; but I am expecting to hear from them any minute to the effect that they have allocated a half million dollars to us, that Atterbury will immediately go ahead to modify his plans for the Y-shaped building in the middle of the present Medical School group and to enlarge it to hold a possible 400,000 books instead of the 200,000 his plans originally called for, and that they propose to start building immediately. Inasmuch as this will place the library in a position most convenient to John and since he is the person most likely to make best use of the collections, it seems to me that there is nothing other for us to say than to fall in line with his wishes. With all this, the new librarian, Knollenberg, is enthusiastically in accord.

So there is a possibility that perhaps a year hence we may be having a public opening of some sort which John

will have to arrange while you and I sit back and watch the wheels go round.

Meanwhile, let us hope that you will be so well along that your *magnum opus** is in print and that I perhaps will have squeezed the juice out of my Vesalian collection before it leaves the house. I have been trying to put my mind on a Vesalian bibliography,† but I find it, so far, vastly difficult and complicated.

With love from house to house, I am, Always affectionately yours, H.C.

Klebs to Cushing

15 June 1939

Dear Harvey: . . . I am not at all sorry that the grand plans that you had about the Library cannot materialize. The simpler they are, the better they will please me, and I do hope that John will not insist on a large staff of pink-fingered ladies. At Sigerist's shop in Baltimore I was very much impressed by the businesslike routine of the establishment, but I did rather long for my own shop and yours and Stanton's.

You are quite right. We have to put all our trust in John and I think we can do it with a good conscience. He has wonderful vitality and I am so glad to hear that he

*The full-length descriptive catalogue which was to follow his *In-cunabula scientifica et medica: Short title list* still awaits completion.

†H.C. did not quite finish this, but with the help of J.F.F., W. W. Francis and others, the book appeared in the anniversary year as he had hoped (*A Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*, New York, Schuman's, 1943).

works in close coöperation and sympathy with Knollenberg who also seems to me a very promising fellow. Of course we old fellows have to take a back seat but I think we are very lucky to have such fine young men working in line with our ideals. . . .

Fulton and Cushing to Klebs

[Telegram]

21 June 1939

Library Funds Granted. Honorary Degrees Today [to]
George Stewart

John Harvey

Cushing to Klebs

1 July 1939

Dear Arnold: A telephone from John yesterday afternoon announced his return from his extended trip to the West by air. . . . He will be writing you, I am sure, about the status of the library question. If you were only nearer at hand, we would lean heavily on your advice regarding the organization of the collection. But you, alas, even in this day of clipper air service to Europe are rather far removed for intimate consultation. For myself, I have left the matter in John's hands and prefer to have him organize something that he would like rather than something we would like, for he is unquestionably the one of our triumvirate who will most certainly put the collection to use.

I don't think we can pattern the institute and its or-

ganization either on Sarton or Sigerist. We can only hope that the right person or persons will turn up as years pass who will bless us for the source material that we have put in their hands and will get something worthwhile out of it. We haven't yet even decided on what the special collection had best be called. For my own part, I rather fancy imitating you and calling it *Bibliotheca Scientifica et Medica*, to give it a certain humanistic flavour in name as well as purpose.

There is, as you know, a Beaumont Club here who are very anxious to have a special room. Mendell and Hendrickson, for example, are members of the Club and there are one or two others like Lorande Woodruff who have very strong historical interests. It's a group that will always make a strong back-log. The present president is a man named Caulfield who has just made an interesting study that was published in the *Yale Journal*. It may not be at all in your line of interest, but I shall send it to you as a sample. Woodruff and some others are at present engaged in getting out a new edition of a very excellent book that was published in 1923 with which you are possibly familiar.

So there has been in the past and will continue to be a reasonably active group here that will keep an interest in medical history alive. John's future is of course unpredictable, but I have a hunch that he may some day wish to relinquish his present chair and devote himself to the library. The library will be air-conditioned, and in the plans for the historical wing there are rooms and adjacent stacks for the special collections.

I, for example, am knee-deep in trying to squeeze the

bibliographical juice out of my Vesalian collection before the books leave the house. Whether this will be a year from now or two years from now, I can't foresee. Atterbury will submit ere long a re-rendering of his former plans which of course will be submitted to you, though this is not the same thing as having you go over them with us, elbow to elbow. Always affectionately yours, H.C.

Fulton to Klebs

14 July 1939

Dear A.C.K.: . . . The architect's conference last Tuesday accomplished a good deal, although dealing with Tom Farnam, the chairman of the University Committee on Architectural Planning, is like dealing with the Fourth Dimension. He thinks only in terms of cubage, cost of upkeep and the greatest number of books one can put into the smallest possible space. All these things are important, but he left us with the impression that the cubage interested him more than the educational opportunity afforded by the new project! He has forced the architect to draw plans on a totally new scheme, so as to have two alternatives to present to his committee once the plans are completed. . . . Hence I could not send you anything that approaches what we have in mind, but I shall keep you posted and bring with me when I come to visit you this summer all the latest drawings. . . .

Klebs to Cushing

30 August 1939

Dear Harvey: . . . Grosvenor Atterbury's blue prints I have also studied carefully, especially the historical wing. In many ways it is the most admirable I have ever seen. A long hall with a balcony, the walls covered by books, is just what one wants, the aesthetic background for comparative and individual work that will take place in the center. Two floors of alternating study and stack rooms, all accessible from the balcony in the second floor though definitely private and undisturbed by casual wanderers and curiosity seekers, who can find a welcome below.

It will be a fascinating task to assign topics to the several "vital spaces." I am thinking of Biography, Bibliography, Palaeography (incl. hist. of printing) as fundamental and all-embracing, while the science and art of medicine with their shifting conceptual background can be ordered according to momentary needs (anatomy, physiology, pathology etc.). Original "sources" I take it will mostly be cared for upstairs, and I see one room for photographic and other reproductions. The size of the study rooms, 10' by 16', seems adequate, but I am not sure whether it would not be wise to have access to the stack-rooms from the outside rather than from the studies, which ought to have at least limited shelf room. I hoped to talk all this over in detail with John but we calculated without Herr Hitler. . . .

Cushing to Klebs

11 September 1939

Dear Arnold: . . . All that you say about the library plans pleases me greatly. We may feel both of us mentally and physically antiquated, but I have a hunch that you will be over here again and will perhaps make a few appropriate remarks a year hence, when possibly we may have proper dedicatory exercises. At that time you can select for yourself the space where you would like to feel that your books some day will come to rest in order to complete our much talked of, all these past years, tri-foliate program. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

7 October 1939

My dear A.C.K.: The dear man has gone. . . . I need not tell you that we are all distracted, but I shall not cease to be thankful for two things: one, that you were here for his birthday party [on 8 April 1939] and, two, that Lucia and I got back from Europe in time to see him well and that we were both here when he fell ill. What a wonderful life it has been, and we cannot but be happy that he was spared a lingering illness. . . . The family is especially happy over the fact that George Stewart is to conduct the service. I feel sure that this will also bring you satisfaction.

One item of news with regard to the Library. We had a very satisfactory meeting yesterday with Tom Farnam and Mr. Atterbury, Bayne-Jones and George Smith. The plans are complete, including the steel drawings, and after the Corporation gives formal approval next Saturday, October

14th, work will begin. They are pushing things as actively as possible, because they wish to buy the steel prior to January 1st. Thereafter it is certain to rise considerably in price if the war continues. Hence we expect to have steel ready to erect sometime in December. This will mean that all the excavations, etc., will be done between now and then. H.C. was informed of these things and it seemed to please him very much. . . .

Klebs to Fulton

20 October 1939

Dear John: This has been a day of days, very sad, but filled for me by a sense of gratitude for your devotion and friendship which could not have found a finer expression than you gave in those letters to me on the grave loss we share in what seems to me a very kindred spirit. . . .

I am now alone in this little library which holds wherever I look so many reminiscences of the dear man and of the great times we have had together. With a gulp in my throat I have been all over them these past days, marvelling at the richness of it all, transfused as it all seemed to be by the exuberance of his spirit and the staccato of his commentary. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

24 October 1939

My dear A.C.K.: Your reassuring cable arrived two days ago and yesterday came the first mails from Europe since the Chief's death. We have all been a little undone

by the letters and I need not tell you that yours stirred my soul more than any other. Your wonderful facility of expression and the feeling that poured out from the depths of your being were almost too much for me to read. I felt somehow that the letters I have written you since the dear man passed away have been cold by comparison, but I have tried not to think of the more personal loss and have attempted to go ahead and do the things that needed to be done. . . .

Fulton to Klebs

1 November 1939

My dear A.C.K.: Your good letter of the 16th acknowledging mine of October 5th and 7th is just here. I am so glad to have news of you after you have had a little more detail concerning H.C.'s illness and passing. I know only too well the sorrow this brings to your heart and I wish I had it in my power to express the sympathy I feel for you more deeply and adequately.

Things are going forward here very rapidly, it seems, and I find it difficult to keep you posted. Yesterday, the 31st, I spent in New York with Mr. Atterbury going over the specifications for the History Library. A little later I hope to send you an elevation of the interior which will, with the plans you already have, give you a little more definite idea what ultimate appearances are to be. Mr. Atterbury has ideas about introducing a little Renaissance flavor. I am holding him down on these points because we don't want anything elaborate. . . .

Today I have reached the *crise de quarante ans*. I don't

know that it is particularly affecting me except that I have suddenly come to realize that I do have responsibilities in the world and that a number of devoted friends have given me a confidence and trust of which I shall try to make myself worthy. With all good wishes, Ever yours affectionately, John

Klebs to Fulton

10 February 1940

. . . The Chief said in one of his last letters in which he spoke of some of his ideas regarding the ultimate utilisation of his books that he would rather have you carry out your own desires, as you were a better judge than he about what your time demanded and young enough to carry them out. . . . I understand to a certain extent that you prefer the rôle of silent partner to that of a too intense preoccupation with medical history while active experimental research was still your fundamental goal. I have come to think for some years past of our three collections as a unit. To name it for any one of us opens an entirely different aspect which, no matter how much practical advantage it may present, destroys much of the enthusiasm I felt when we entered upon the scheme. . . . I am glad that you understand to some extent my viewpoint. At any rate you know that I am not disputing your right to call the historical section "Cushing Library" or "Harvey Cushing Library," only I feel that this would not correspond to his wishes as he engaged you and me to join in the venture of providing the Medical Library with a humanistic department where that very spirit of searching inquiry into past

thought and achievement that has brought us together these many years would be kept up for the benefit of future generations.

. . . The section in question must not have an eponymic designation. It is simply and plainly a laboratory in which human thought on medicine like any other phenomenon becomes the subject of research. . . .

Klebs to Stewart

12 February 1940

[I hope there will soon materialize] a very fine dream which Harvey and I, and John with us, had dreamed for years when our labors with old books made us increasingly aware that something much bigger than mere knowledge lay at the bottom of medical progress. . . . The usual assumption that the last and the most modern is also the best in line of evolution and that all before is but a more or less primitive preparation is effectively countered by voyages to other times and other places. It need not make us suspicious and dissatisfied with what we have reached, but it makes us give up an easy complacency for a more critical attitude in the amazing multitude of hygienic and therapeutic propositions sprung on helpless humanity. In the historical drawing room or workshop one meets infinitely more comrades of securely established records than in the biggest contemporary medical congress. With a little practice, with some linguistic aptitude one can learn to converse with them, provided one looks at them as human beings, not as "antiquarian samples" on which to show off

one's erudition or scholarship (facile terms to hide often emptiness of head and heart).

Human contacts in the yesterdays that are no more bring us into contact with ideas and strivings of eternal validity, but to be "human" we have to acquire more than books can give us, though books or other written documents will always be the basis from which to start for the voyage into other times. Books in this search acquire an individuality of their own which often adumbrates that of the author. To them cling in various ways signs of their contact with owners, of their influence on them and others, and thus many other individuals are drawn into the circle of interest. Harvey in several letters emphasizes this aspect of provenance in our books, which he thought would rarely be found in any one library, not even in Osler's.

We three had fairly definite aims in our collecting of books. Of course, Osler was our great inspirer. He, like Mead and other great collectors of medical books, especially in England, tried to bring together specimens of those works which were landmarks in the evolution of medical science. Osler ranged these books as of first, second, and literary, historical, biographical, bibliographical, etc., interest, adding to them incunabula because of their value as printed monuments. . . .

There is a certain naïveté in the evaluation expressed by the arranging of the *bibliotheca prima* and *secunda*. Osler knew very well that in this fickle world the only thing that remains is change, but he thought that heroes of thought deserved worshipping like any other, and the act was inspiring to students. His interest was with the man who thought, practised, and wrote, more than in the ideas he

developed or the discoveries he made. A clergyman's son, he liked to sermonize, and here were fertile fields from which to harvest. And his essays were often gems.

Harvey Cushing also started out with the naïve transatlantic love for ancient lore and he collected like a true bibliophile. The fun of bidding at the sales, the Chief pointed out, greatly appealed to his sporting instinct. But very soon he focussed his interests. To him as a surgeon the "antomische Gedanke" in medicine was of outstanding importance, and that man who first got out a remarkable textbook on this subject, Vesalius, made an overwhelming appeal. He set out to get everything by and about him—books and pictures and whatnot. Of course, he was immensely busy in his profession and had little time for anything else. Still, whenever he could snatch a moment, he was over his Vesaliana, mostly in bibliographies and trade catalogues. He had a wonderful flair for the things worth while to get, and so unique items came to him. He was at it to the last and his plan of editing a new catalogue of Vesaliana was started with great enthusiasm and can probably be finished with slight effort by somebody else. In this field he became expert, very different from Osler who deliberately remained the amateur.

It was early in 1923 when he acquired, on my recommendation, the pre-Vesalian Canano and we prepared for the issue of a facsimile edition (to which later on Streeter supplied a fine historical note, Florence, 1925) that he began to realize that the mere bibliophilic accumulation of show pieces could never give a broad insight into the evolutionary trend of medicine, and that since such an insight seemed very much worth while, it would be necessary for

him to systematize and orient his collecting activity. To do this properly he lacked the space in Boston and especially the time—which was abundantly occupied for another ten years. During this time he concluded not only his surgical activity with a unique record, but also prepared the scientific account of his experience, a “collection” which will more than anything else assure his position in the scientific world. Only after moving to New Haven did he find the space and leisure to devote himself to his other collection. For some years before, Dr. Welch had always hoped to persuade him to become his successor in History of Medicine in a chair that was established for him at Johns Hopkins, but Cushing preferred the less formal opportunities which his old Alma Mater provided. So from 1933 on, while never leaving out of sight his anatomical and especially Vesalian interests, he broadened considerably the circle of his desiderata, acquiring especially many most valuable incunabula and manuscripts. In this enterprise I was in constant consultation with him and many miles did we “do” together in search of these treasures, taking in, incidentally, the scenes and landscapes where they had blossomed forth.

Of course, much will be said some day about Cushing’s collecting in other fields than those above indicated, but they were the basis of the more scientific, if less bibliophilic, efforts. Naturally he paid much attention to the surgical authors, and especially to Ambroise Paré, Berengar, and others. Neither did he resist the bibliophilic prompting to gather all or most of the editions of such a dubious genius as Nicholas Culpeper amounting to some 180 items, not contributions to solid knowledge perhaps, but

eloquent signs of superstitious survivals amidst rising scientific precision.

John Fulton, the Chief's well beloved pupil at Peter Bent Brigham, later in the Oslerian atmosphere at Oxford, and finally as his colleague at Yale, put almost the entire weight of his abounding energies to the experimental fathoming of life's secrets. All thought in this field [physiology], whether Assyrian, Greek, Latin, whether before or after our era, was a foregone conclusion with him under the gentle humanistic guidance of Sir Charles Sherrington. To them a Boyle, a Priestley, a Lavoisier, a Fracastoro were not dead historical personages, but very live, stimulating contemporaries, and so it came quite naturally that, in addition to his immense labors which rapidly placed him in the forefront of physiologists and made him the head of a flourishing school of experimenters, he also collected, classified, and analysed the works and other deeds of these men. Bibliography in his hands became an instrument of precision for the investigation of the mind of man, especially in his scientific search. By the time he had reached the professorial chair at Yale, just a little before Cushing also drifted there, his collection of books had come to cover the literary productivity of sixteenth to eighteenth century scientists to a degree of fullness that few public libraries could equal. In a restricted but very important field he tried to do what a Gesner and Haller had done for the entire literary output, not in the chaste simplicity of their form, but in the exuberant complexity of bibliographical detail that his friend Geoffrey Keynes had standardized for our age. Collecting facts at the operating table or collecting books at Sotheby's or elsewhere have become

a conditioned reflex with him, and the harvest has been very rich.

Meeting the young, lively, and sometimes screamingly funny, just married Associate-in-Surgery under the Oslerian roof at Franklin Street, Baltimore—in 1903—was a fateful event in my eight-year-old American career. We had talked about the remarkable tbc exposition that Osler, Thayer, Jacobs, and others had embellished by relevant literary treasures, we had touched upon our visit that afternoon to his animal hospital where dogs, cats, or monkeys were treated with the latest aseptic and human concern just to show students how living flesh had to be handled, when suddenly he burst out: “Know anything about spirals?” I said I didn’t. “There is a chap named Cook who has written about them. He has found everywhere in nature evidence that everything growing, mounts progressively in spirals. He gives innumerable examples in plants, shells, animals. Underlying it is the mathematical progression of the Fibonacci series, which also articulates all significant artistic work, which he exemplifies by some of Leonardo da Vinci’s work, much of which he considers, however, freakish because his spirals turn to the left and not as normally they should to the right.” A fascinating proposition and all of those present had something to say on the subject. He went on: “We are now examining all Baltimore spirals as to their normalcy—there is a spiral staircase leading from my room to the ‘Professor’s’ and I cannot use it any more as it turns to the left. Soon I must be going over to Blois where in the Château there is a spiral staircase in best Renaissance style which Cook thinks must have been designed by Leonardo in nearby Amboise,

because it also turns to the left. All Leonardo's spirals turn to the left as he was left-handed." A lively discussion went on till late in the night.

Nothing very remarkable, for in that group of choice spirits, as I was to find out later on numerous occasions, this sort of boutade was daily fare, but the harmonious mixture of the *utile et dulce* that it recalled from my student days in Europe I had somewhat missed since my advent in Yankee land, though its vast horizons and its smiling and generous people and fine opportunities for work had kept me unaware of any deficiency of moment. . . .

When my father left America in 1900, he turned over most of his books to me. A large collection of classified monographs, journal series, and the principal works of the Virchow school of pathological anatomy, to which, however, was added with particular insistence all that was bearing on bacterial etiology, which field occupied him mainly in pioneer work before Koch.

My father had always been interested in *belles lettres*, philosophy and art (classical and Renaissance), and from earliest childhood I remember his colleagues and pupils, as well as literary men, artists, some of wide renown, passing through our house at Prag, Zurich, and elsewhere. . . . Many books have wandered to America and back here again. When I moved to Ouchy from Chicago, I brought eighty bookcases full. That was in 1909.

It was then and there that I began collecting in earnest. By this I mean that I went with determination to the book market to get of written, printed, and other documents, discarded and forgotten, what was still preserved dealing with the subjects of interest to me. I had already accumu-

lated a pretty full apparatus of contemporary works (all the journal files also) of tuberculosis and what was called the "crusade" against the "white plague." After 1909, when I published "Tuberculosis by American Authors," which Osler had asked me to edit, I considered tuberculosis to have ceased to be a medical problem and one which could be dealt with by social agencies, but that as an example of an epidemic most intimately related to phases in social evolution, its consideration from other points of view than those then prevailing (contagiousness, infectiousness) might reveal valuable insights. So I started and have been at it since to collect old works on consumption, phthisis, scrophula, and other similar ailments which from earliest times had not only killed but debilitated man, as leprosy had done in former ages till it was "conquered," it is said, by human efforts (leproseries).

My next effort in the collecting line was prompted by my "inherited" interest in infection and especially the rôle of animate contagion in the production of disease. Here my father's collection gave me the necessary theoretical background and I added what I could find of the curious anticipations of this theory. The avowed knowledge of a definite cause of disease naturally led to the search for a specific prevention and therapy. In this aspect the great historic experiment of preventive smallpox inoculation which preceded and directly induced Jenner's vaccination seemed most worthy of closer examination. The complacent acceptance of diminished morbidity and mortality from this disease, as the direct result of vaccination, did not carry conviction and suggested re-examination *ab ovo*,

which is inoculation as a preventive operation empirically evolved.

The S[urgeon] G[eneral's] L[ibrary], ever since I was introduced to it by Osler, Dr. Billings' great work in and outside of it, and last, not least, my long friendship and collaboration with [Fielding H.] Garrison before, during, and after the war years, have affected decisively the direction of my work and the scope of my collection.

The war brought to naught my plans for an institute at Johns Hopkins, which I had started in 1913, backed wholeheartedly by Welch, Halsted, Barker, Rupert Norton, Garrison and others. That I should have found a haven of peaceful activity under the auspices of the War Department was one of the incongruities of the distressing spectacle that presented itself. . . . [The] faithful Garrison, with his unparalleled knowledge of the entire domain of medical history, suggested to me the cataloguing of the medical incunabula in the S.G.L. and by that started me on an occupation that has kept me busy ever since.

Incunabula are *rara et rarissima*, but that was not the prime motif of my interest. I saw here a literary domain strictly limited in time, beginning in mid-*quattrocento* and ending—arbitrarily, it is true—at midnight on December 31, 1500. . . . During the 25 years that I have been occupied with these books, my interest in them has grown, but I realize that I have given to their bibliographical and especially typographical investigation an amount of time which I could have employed more fruitfully on other subjects. . . . The details of book production in incunabula times present a special interest that disappears later (just

about around the close of the century very curiously). For this reason a more intimate study of them will produce valuable results in many cases. The story of the collaboration of craftsmen and authors is by no means exhausted and deserves as much attention as the more modern collaborations of experimenters and their attendants which have been much neglected.

Another reason why my time with incunabula was not wasted is that it enabled me to advise H.C. in his purchases of these precious books. That is a long and intricate story, but it brought together something very choice that I hope will do more than just fill showcases of *rara*. . . .

H.C. and I have often talked of these things. He realized that also his surgical approach to the central nervous organs was only a beginning and that unforeseeable possibilities lay in wait. For that, his work and his tumor registry will always form the stimulating basis. For the other approach here alluded to, perhaps our collections will also open new vistas, especially if our Benjamin will cheerfully put his own unparalleled resources of books and particularly of energies to the future task as he has always done in past years of unforgettable associations. . . .

Klebs to Fulton

“LIBRARY NOTES”

21 March 1940

The Yale Medical Library is a grand title amply sufficient for all purposes.

All work in it is in a sense “historical” but by providing

a special historical research section, born and bred of the threefold association, co-operation, co-rumination of C, K, and F, a laboratory is created in which with finer, more precise tools the thoughts and achievements of the past are purposefully utilized and applied for a broader attack on biological and medical problems. The antiquarian, the bibliophilic aspects are there also and they ought to be powerfully and lovingly cultivated by the proper persons, but the great attack is on the mind of man, conditioned by time and space, and as found in documents old and new.

Just as Harvey Cushing knew perfectly well that his life-time preoccupation with the physical brain was only a curtain-raiser of an unfolding historical drama, the extent and scope he anticipated with a clairvoyance hardly given to anyone else, just so we three saw together that other aspect of the human brain and possibly the human heart hidden in that extension of gray matter on papyrus, parchment, and paper delightful to our senses and understanding in prose, verse, and pictures in our beloved books.

Fulton to Klebs

12 February 1941

I come now to your letter of January 20th in which you raise the question of packing your books. I think it would be desirable to pack them systematically sometime in the near future. If you personally supervise the operation, it will be well done and done according to your satisfaction. . . . It may seem to you a little grim and sepulchral to start packing up, but I am doing pretty much the same thing in

moving my own books over to the new Library. I thought at first that I was quietly arranging and anticipating my own demise, but now that the books are gradually filtering into the new building, I become more and more enthusiastic about the whole scheme and can't wait to get the rest of them over there. . . . I have an idea that as soon as you start packing up your books you will feel some of the same enthusiasm. It is really thrilling to see the two collections coming together. . . .

The main room of the Historical Library has developed in a most satisfactory manner. We are having a little trouble now with appropriate furnishings since our equipment funds have largely run out and we may have to get on with old and rather unattractive tables until we find someone on whom we can do a little deep massage. . . . Lefty and Annie Burr Lewis have just presented the exhibition cases for Ned Streeter's collection of weights and measures. The collection is quite unique, and it is important that it be well exhibited. . . .

Klebs to Fulton

[Cable in response to invitation to be present at Library opening]

4 April 1941

June fifteenth noon we shall celebrate opening here among books already part of Yale Library in Trinitarian Unity.

Fulton to Klebs

26 April 1941

. . . We are still frantically working over the arrangement of the books in the Historical Library, and I hope that we shall have them all in place by the first of June. The Library of Congress system makes strange bedfellows, such as putting Linné next to Vesalius; but I suppose if we are going to follow a system that we must follow it faithfully, otherwise confusion will be worse confounded. It is awfully difficult to adjust one's self to the idea of becoming an institution, at least as far as one's own library is concerned, but I find it all fascinating nevertheless and I shall send you reports of progress from time to time. . . .

Charles Seymour to Klebs

17 July 1941

I beg to acknowledge your letter of July 2, 1941, in which you give to the President and Fellows of Yale University to hold in trust for the Historical Library of the Yale Medical Library that portion of your "library which deals with the history of science and medicine." With a deep sense of gratitude I accept this gift on behalf of the President and Fellows.

Through the many talks I have had with Harvey Cushing, John Fulton, and other distinguished scholars, I realize fully the value which these books have gained by your careful study, your annotations, and your recorded critical comment; as well as by reason of the fact that they

have become a part of the apparatus of the *Bibliotheca Medica et Scientifica* which you have created. We gladly leave them in your care for further study during your lifetime that their value to future generations of scholars at Yale may increase the more.

I wish that you might have been with us at the opening of the Library which you and Harvey and John hoped for and planned with loving care. It was a great day in the history of science at Yale. . . . You must know how deeply indebted we feel. Through the troubled days to come this Library will serve to preserve scientific and humanistic values which lie at the base of civilization.

Epilogue

Dr. Klebs died in 1943, but because of the war his books did not join those of his friends until 1946 when they reached New Haven on a snowy afternoon five days before Christmas. As the three men had hoped and foreseen, this was only the beginning of the Historical Library. Dr. Streeter had presented in 1941 the weights and measures which H.C. and J.F.F. had examined with astonishment and delight four years earlier, together with a rich group of supporting texts. In 1951 George Milton Smith bequeathed to the Library his books on anatomy and medicine and on marine biology, especially ichthyology. Still later a superb lot of medical caricatures and books on psychiatry came from Clements C. Fry, one of H.C.'s opponents in the croquet games which were a summer attraction at 691 Whitney Avenue. Samuel C. Harvey, a former stu-

dent who was then Professor of Surgery at Yale, willed his library of working texts in the history of surgery in 1953. Still other gifts have enriched the ever-growing collections of the Historical Library.

A department of the history of medicine was established in February 1951, and John Fulton resigned his professorship of physiology to become its chairman and Sterling Professor of the History of Medicine. Thus the dream of the two older men implemented by the third took further concrete shape. Should the day ever come when their voluminous correspondence (of which the letters here are but a minute part) is edited and published, it will readily be seen that, as A.C.K. wrote H.C. on 13 January 1938, "a good deal of what merits to be called history is just there."

One thousand copies of this record of the creation of the Historical Library of the Yale Medical Library have been printed by the Printing-Office of the Yale University Press through the generosity of some of John Fulton's friends sparked by Henry R. Viets.

The letters were selected by Madeline E. Stanton and Elizabeth H. Thomson. Miss Stanton was Harvey Cushing's secretary, Miss Thomson, one of his biographers; both are J.F.F.'s colleagues in the Historical Library and the Department of the History of Medicine. They had the editorial coöperation of Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., on holiday from the Franklin Papers of which he is Associate Editor.

The collotype illustrations were made by the Meriden Gravure Company under the direction of E. Harold Hugo.

The book is set in Bell monotype, with headings in italic. It was designed by John's friend and neighbor Carl Purington Rollins.

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